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MORE THAN ESPIONAGE

by Edna Lonigan

The story of the activities of Communist agents within our Federal Government has been described as another "Canadian spy case". It is more than that. Attempts to force a parallel with the Canadian case only obscure the fact that Congress is on the trail of something more insidious and more important than espionage.

The committees under Senator Ferguson and Representative Thomas have already done one invaluable service. They have made it clear that we are not dealing with the activities of the Communist "Party", but of the Russian NKVD.

The Communist "Party" is not an American political party. Like the Russian Army, it serves the military purposes of the Soviet Government. Control of such an important military instrument could not be left to the aging, small-bore politicians who seem to head American Communism. This American "Party" is merely one branch of the huge network under control of the NKVD.

Congress is now working toward the real question: what are the aims and activities of the NKVD-MVD on American soil? Mr. Chambers, in a little-noticed statement, said they are not primarily espionage. No one asked what they are. The answer is that the NKVD is engaged in placing its agents in key positions in American life, in order to direct our policies to our self-destruction.

NKVD penetration into the Federal Government is part of a larger pattern for penetration into colleges, schools, the armed forces, private business, and the general communication of ideas. The work of the separate arms is synchronized from Moscow, by a few directing heads, into a smooth-working force of political "commandos". These seek to seize the commanding heights of American Society, and thereby take over our country without any serious revolutionary violence.

"It can't be true", say the pseudo-liberals. "The Grand Jury would have indicted. The FBI would have proved them guilty." But guilty of what? Most American followers of the NKVD have committed no crime. They have violated no law. If every statement in the testimony of Miss

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Bentley and Mr. Chambers is proved true, the Grand Jury will still find it difficult to indict. We have no law compelling Government employees to propose only ideas that are for the good of their country.

II

The NKVD has been endeavoring to infiltrate the Federal Government since 1933. The first circle was evidently set up in the Department of Agriculture. Dr. Wirt told us about links in the Office of Education.

Recruits were obtained from cells in the colleges. Stalin ordered his followers to penetrate the American colleges as far back as 1929, when he saw that the depression was serious. This is documented in the reports of the Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York legislature.

Each cell divided and bred others. Directors of the NKVD sat with their maps of the "terrain" of the Federal Government, and moved their followers to one key position after another. Communists in Government and the colleges were ordered to recommend their comrades for all desirable openings. They were told to locate the key jobs, to know when they would be vacant, and to pull the strings. Their people always had the "best" recommendations.

First the network placed its economists and lawyers. Then it moved its men into publicity and public relations. As the leaders learned more about the workings of our bureaucracy, they put their people into jobs as personnel directors. Assistant directors proved even better for the purpose. These officials were never in the headlines. But they saw the incoming applications; they could weed out those with an anti-Communist record in college, or "expedite" those who submitted recommendations with key names or had key experience to identify them.

Administrative Assistants were another important link. Top officials in Government departments make speeches but are shielded from knowledge of what goes on in their agencies. The administrative assistant decides whom the chief will see, what correspondence he will sign, what reports he will read, and whether or not complaints shall be brought to his attention.

Some of the people who were placed by the network were "innocents"; some were dreamy revolutionists; most were cold, cynical men who noticed that those whom the network favored advanced rapidly to the highest jobs. Many who were temporarily enmeshed by the network found their way out without much trouble. But the network grew because vacant places were promptly filled by new recruits from the colleges.

The duty of the ablest Soviet agents was not espionage. It was to win the confidence of those who directed policy. Their task was to

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attach themselves to higher officials or to the wives of those officials; to be friendly, charming, alert, intelligent, sympathetic; to be ready, day or night, to take on more responsibility. And, in time, such responsibility was given them.

So, each year, the network moved its men into higher and higher positions. When war came the veterans of eight years of conspiracy reached the highest policy levels. Always an invisible force was pushing the favored higher. It was easier after Hitler attacked Russia.

III

When the Wagner Act was pending, an American industrialist rushed back from Europe, and said, "You can't allow this bill to pass. European Communists are waiting at the docks to come here and take over American unions when it passes." His friends laughed indulgently.

The Wagner Act left a broad band of administrative discretion to the Labor Board, for the writing of directives that had the force of law, and could not be reviewed by the courts. That was not accident. The network moved its best people to the places where the directives were written. Communist agents penetrated the unions, took over the funds, the press, the legal staffs; and industrial bitterness mounted.

Men chosen by the network began to direct American policy on every controversial question. After Farley was dropped, they took over the task of delivering the votes from the key industrial centers. As a reward they gained control of the political conduct of the war.

Our victorious armies halted where Stalin wished. His followers managed Dumbarton Oaks, UN, UNRRA, our Polish and Spanish policies. They gave Manchuria and Northern Korea to Communism. They demoted General Patton, and wrote the infamous instructions under which General Marshall was sent to China. They dismantled German industry, ran the Nuremberg trials and even sought to dictate our economic policy in Japan.

Their greatest victory was the "Morgenthau Plan". No one who knew Mr. Morgenthau could believe he devised the Plan. It was contrary to everything which he believed. He could not have been persuaded to urge it on the President unless he had been surrounded by men he trusted, who were obeying the orders of the network; men who, like the wicked uncle in "Hamlet", poured poison in his ears while he was off guard.

The planned destruction of German economy has further weakened Western Europe and will cost every family in the United States a share of $18 billions to repair part of the damage through ERP. What more could the heads of the network have done for their masters?

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After the war was decided, the network moved the men on the chessboard to UN, UNRRA, the International Bank; then to positions in our colleges, where they teach future Government employees, and to foundations which control the grants the colleges so desperately need.

IV

Why didn't some one in Government expose this state of affairs? Many tried, but they were silenced, or, if persistent, they were smeared by the branches of the network that worked through the press.

The Dies Committee located the carriers of infection, and therefore was given the most vicious smearing of all. Of course the Dies Committee made mistakes. The question is whether the American people should have followed a committee loyal to America which made mistakes, or the NKVD, which makes no mistakes.

President Truman was given $26 million to root out "disloyalty", but the hand of the network is all over the "loyalty investigation". There was no good reason for investigating all Government employees. That was the Communist way of "helping" the investigation. The only proper procedure is to have a board review the evidence in the FBI files, and dismiss every employee who associated with members of the network. No one has a "right" to Federal employment, if he has no sense.

We do not need more laws; we cannot enforce those we have, because the cold eyes of NKVD officials always find the openings where their agents can penetrate into enforcement agencies, or induce members of the press to help with propaganda about "red-baiting".

We are not concerned with a judicial problem of the guilt or innocence of individuals -- except in the matter of perjury. We do not want any spy trials which will be lost before they are begun. Our problem is political. How can we get evidence about the top level of the Moscow-directed army which is within our gates?

The Congress has done excellent work, but we do not yet see the size of the task before it. What we need from Congress is a complete set of intelligence reports. We want to know all the links through which Communism works, the "chain of command", the infinite variety of its camouflage and propaganda devices. If Congress gives us the pattern by which infiltration of administration has succeeded, the American people will find the political means to end forever the work of the NKVD on American soil.

Edna Lonigan, an occasional contributor to HUMAN EVENTS, served with the Farm Credit Administration from 1933 to 1935 and was with the Treasury Department from 1935 to 1940. She has also been a college teacher.

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Not Merely Gossip *A Supplement to* Human Events September 13, 1948

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By Frank C. Hanighen

The Republicans all too complacently watch the Southern political ferment, satisfied that the results will prove indefinitely advantageous to themselves and unhappy for the Democrats. It is true that the split in the Democratic Party offers Governor Dewey an excellent chance to pick up quite a number of Southern electoral votes. But the Republicans may be deluding themselves if they believe that, after the election is won, their Congressional relationship with the Southerners will remain the same as it has been for many years. It appears questionable whether the Republicans in the future can rely (as they have in the past) on the South to assist them in supporting conservative economic legislation on Capitol Hill and to stand as firm allies against the proposals of Northern "liberals" in Congress.

This view, at least, is expressed by observers in Washington who have an impressive background of knowledge of the South. These observers believe that the impact of this unprecedented election on the South will result in something very odd indeed, namely, a general political turn to the Left in that area, and an end to the old Congressional working alliance between Northern Republicans and the Southern conservatives. There will, they say, be fewer Senators of the complexion of George of Georgia, and more of the stripe of Pepper of Florida. "Unreconstructed" legislators, up till now the targets of "liberal" criticism, may sing quite a different tune on economic matters. Wider Negro voting will have its consequences, for the colored voters in general may be expected to support "liberal" legislation. Also, Labor union power will add no little strength to such a trend. It is true that the CIO and AFL drives last year paid no immediate dividends. But, once the "Yank" organizers had gone home, Southern Labor agents began to achieve results with industrial labor. It is notable that "Boss" Crump in Tennessee assigned to the CIO some responsibility for his defeat in the recent primaries. Meanwhile, throughout the South the progress of industrialization and the decline of agriculture accelerate a process which nourishes the growth of Southern "liberalism". In short, as our observers put it, the hinterland "radicals", will not hail from the formerly radical West, but from the formerly conservative South.

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In July, three State Department officials charged, before a Congressional committee, that the foreign espionage and propaganda agents had obtained admittance to the United States under cover of United Nations credentials and were pursuing activities inconsistent with national security. Secretary Marshall denied the charges and an extra-governmental committee was appointed to investigate. At the time, observers familiar with the situation in Washington predicted that the committee would "whitewash" the UN. Now that the committee has rendered a report, perusal of the document seems to support this view.

The tenor of the committee's findings is hardly reassuring. Throughout its report, the committee seems to have been seeking to undermine the charges of the three State Department officials, rather than to expose the activities of "UN subversives". In one passage, the committee timorously expressed "doubt as to whether the activities of several individuals [in the UN] after arrival, were consistent with national security". Adding: "It is clear that public discussion of these cases would not be in the public interest." Nor, despite a manifestly cranky attitude towards Robert Alexander, one of the three State Department officials, was the committee quite able to shake Mr. Alexander's apprehensions. That official said: "I did feel during my testimony before the Senate Staff Committee and I still feel that if the problem of these subversive classes coming into the country with permis-

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sion to travel all over the country, realizing the difficulty of surveillance and of containing them within any specified area, is allowed to go on, that the security of the nation might be jeopardized."

The committee quotes passim from a House report which points out that to carry on UN business the U. S. must admit all persons connected with such business and concludes: "This involves inevitably the admission of a number of aliens, some of whom would not normally be admissible under immigration laws of the United States. The United States has foreclosed itself in undertaking voluntarily the obligations of the host Government." Indeed, it has. And the complacency with which the committee views the situation as a "calculated risk" appears absurdly unrealistic in view of the almost daily revelations of Soviet espionage and other activities in this country.

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International Briefs ---- The French radio on August 27 reported that former Chancellor Heinrich Bruening testified (as a defense witness) at the de-Nazification trial of industrialist Fritz Thyssen. It has long been a stock argument that Hitler rose to power through the aid of certain powerful business figures (among them Thyssen) in the Germany of the Weimar Republic. Chancellor Bruening (and who is better informed on the matter?) at the trial declared that the financial means at Hitler's disposal had no influence on the development of the Nazi Party. He also said, according to the French radio, that Hitler would not have remained in power after 1935 if he had not received unexpected support from certain Big Powers.

---- One of the reasons why General Franco feels strong enough to make preliminary steps for restoration of the Bourbon monarchy is that opposition to him is weak and divided. This weakness stems in part from the realization, among Spanish Republicans, that the one Great Power that gave them substantial military aid in the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39, has treated abominably those Spanish Republicans who took refuge in Soviet Russia. The French radio station in Rabat, Morocco, broadcast (on August 26) a story that Spanish Republicans are dying in a concentration camp in Siberia. The broadcast said: "A group (of Republicans) which was taken by the OGPU has completely disappeared. Another group was sent to a place in Siberia. Those who survived their hard labor were transferred later to Karaganda (Siberia)." The radio comments, "General Franco may find it an excellent expedient for his propaganda that the Soviets might be made responsible for this shameless deed. When General Franco is accused of permitting men whose only crime was to have fought for liberty 10 years ago to die in prison, General Franco may well answer that the Russians offer no better treatment to Spanish Republicans who had the misfortune of falling into Russian hands."

---- The Spanish Radio Nacional, during the past week's French Cabinet crisis, made the following observation (August 30): "It is greatly to be feared that the Government Schuman will form will have the same fault as that of Andre Marie: unpopularity. In a parliamentary country, trying to form a Government without popular representation is like trying to make chicken stew without chicken; despite all the masterful art of the French cuisine, there is no chef who can do it."

---- Diplomatic circles in Washington say, on advices from Rome, that the Vatican is about to undertake an increased propaganda campaign against Communism in Europe. These circles believe that it will be pursued behind the Iron Curtain as well as in democratic countries. The report is also associated with the Wall Street Journal story (August 31) that the Vatican has purchased three million tons of Canadian flour. It is believed that the Vatican may seek to assist its propaganda campaign with free distribution of flour to the needy.

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The Communist insurrection in Burma is regarded much more seriously in Washington official circles than current news reports indicate. Burma is one of several battlefields in Southern Asia (the others are Malaya, French Indo-China and Indonesia), where the Soviet international network is striving to deny the rich raw material resources to the industry of the West. The Burmese Government continues to issue encouraging communiques on the situation and undoubtedly the forces of the Government have severely rebuffed rebel attempts to encircle Rangoon, the capital. But, U. S. Government experts point out, the Communist strategy of infiltration in Burma has been based from the first, not on coups d'etat in the capital or positional warfare, but on organizing the hinterland in rebellion against the Government. It is emphasized that the Communist agents early concentrated on gaining control of the various local governments -- and they have succeeded remarkably well. In a largely agricultural country like Burma, this strategy pays much larger dividends than organization of the small industrial proletariat. The Soviet scheme is obviously to wear down the central Government until it surrenders. While the Government may win successes in the field for a time, a war of attrition may prove disastrous to the seven-month-old republic. Burma's great export is rice and continued curtailment of this trade would have profound effects not only on Burma, but on other countries in Asia which depend to a large extent on imports of this foodstuff from Burma.

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Mr. George R. Leighton, who has contributed a chapter to a forthcoming symposium on the work of the late Dr. Beard (to be published soon by Alfred A. Knopf) writes us:

"The death of Charles A. Beard on September 1 means a great loss. Primarily a middle-class American intellectual, Beard never ceased to insist upon the pragmatic middle-class character of American thought. Much of this was a reflection of Beard's personality and temperament. He was as self-reliant and as belligerent as William Graham Sumner; to stay on the side lines where, say, Henry Adams and Frederick Jackson Turner and Thorstein Veblen stayed was unthinkable for Beard. He was forever up and doing. He believed that the material base for the good life existed in America as nowhere else and that, if they put their minds to it, Americans could somehow get through the crisis of our time with most of their freedoms intact. Freedom and three square meals a day was the Beard ideal. He had a generous streak of malice and he enjoyed deflating stuffed shirts; he devoted as much time and genuine effort to the defense of civil liberty as anybody in his generation. He distrusted Roosevelt as only a son of a small town Indiana banker could distrust a Hyde Park squire. At bottom Beard was positive, sanguine, optimistic; he was never dull. Nobody had to guess which side Beard would be on. His loss is irreparable."

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On September 16 and 17, the National Decentralist Institute will hold a conference in Hershey, Pa., for (as its official rubric states) "those who desire to explore the possibilities of further decentralization in our industrial, agricultural, governmental, community, educational and financial institutions". Prominent exponents of the decentralist philosophy scheduled to participate include Ralph Borsodi, Dr. Willis Nutting, and Thomas Hewes. Last year (October 14, 1947) Mr. Lalley in Book Events reviewed Mr. Hewes' book Decentralize for Liberty in which the author presented an interesting "plan of action" to preserve capitalism while eliminating the social maladies to which it has given rise. The growing literature on this subject, as well as the impressive list of names on the prospectus of the Hershey meeting, offer evidence of the vitality of the decentralist movement.

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Book Events

America Through British Eyes; Compiled and edited by Allan Nevins. New York: The Oxford University Press. $6.00. Reviewed by J. M. Lalley

For more than a hundred and sixty years the writing of travel books about America has been one of the important branches of British literary industry. It can hardly be said that there has been much reciprocal activity on the part of American writers, for I suppose that neither the sentimental Bracebridge Hall nor the satirical Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court has ever been taken seriously, even by its author, as a comprehensive study of English domestic manners. The explanation, I dare say, lies in the existence of a market in the one case, and the absence of it in the other. One section of British readers has sought the satisfaction of its curiosity about life in the United States, another the confirmaton of its prejudices. For their part American readers until a few decades ago were either little interested in British life, which they tended to regard as a compound of aristocratic arrogance and pauper servility, or were content to take at face value the impressions they derived from British novels. But where the British long remained complacently indifferent to the opinion of foreigners concerning them, assuming their superiority, Americans were abnormally sensitive to everything said about them. It is only very recently that these attitudes have been reversed and that such a book as Mr. Edmund Wilson's Europe Without Baedeker could have aroused among the English anything like the touchy indignation that provoked Lowell's famous essay on A Certain Condescension in Foreigners.

Professor Nevins' anthology of British writings about America is an enlargement of one published about a quarter century ago. The bibliography he has appended to it shows, however, that it is still very far from complete. Some of the omissions seem in need of explanation; for example, George Frederick Ruxton's Life in the Far West and Hilaire Belloc's The Contrast. In other cases, the Professor seems to have been hampered by a petty jealousy about copyrights; on this ground he apologizes for being unable to include extensive passages from Lord Action's diaries and essays. No doubt Mr. Geoffrey Gorer's ingenious anthropological study of American folkways made its appearance too late for consideration. Anyway, a great deal of Professor Nevins' material, such as his selections from Harriet Martineau, Fanny Kemble, Dickens and the two Trollopes, is already familiar to most American readers. His choices appear to have been determined by his classifications. He divides his material into five chronological categories, which he considers represent a gradual evolution of the British attitude toward the United States. Thus the writers of his first epoch, ending in 1825, are mainly descriptive; those of the second epoch, ending in 1845, mainly disdainful or supercilious; those of the third epoch, ending in 1870, more or less detached and impartial; those of the fourth period, ending in 1922, of which Viscount Bryce is representative, seriously analytical; and so on. The truth, however, appears to be that in all periods there have been both hostile and sympathetic British critics. Miss Mary Agnes Hamilton, who visited the United States in the early 1930's, was hardly less scornful of American materialism than Mrs. Trollope was of American vulgarity; yet scarcely any foreigner writing about the United States has been freer of prejudice and condescension than Alexander Mackay, who arrived in the later 1840s.

One quality, indeed, is common to all these British commentators, which distinguishes them from most Continental writers. This is their passion for concrete detail, whether pleasant or otherwise. Thus, where de Tocqueville, though he generalizes much about manners in a democratic Society, makes no reference to the old-fashioned American habit of chewing and spitting, the British dwell upon it with amused or disgusted fascination.

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